1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

175
512 to the god of day, proceeds to the tu-el or yard, in
782 which the cattle have been confined, and, again addressing the sun as the emblem of Siva, asks his blessing,
(233) and liberates the herd. He allows the cattle to stray about in the neighbourhood of the village, on a piece of ground which is always kept for this purpose, and, having performed his morning ablutions, commences the milking. This is also preceded by further salutations and praises to the sun. On entering the house in the evening, the Burgher addresses the lamp, now the only light, or visible emblem of the deity. 'Thou, creator of this and of all worlds, the greatest of the great, who art with us, as well in the mountain as in the wilderness, who keepeth the wreaths that adorn the head from fading, who guardeth the foot from the thorn, God, among a hundred, may we be prosperous.'"

241 The Badaga understands the rotation of crops well.
242 On his land he cultivates bearded wheat (beer ganji), barley, onions, garlic, potatoes, kīrē (*Amarantus*), sāmai (*Panicum miliare*), tenai (*Setaria italica*), etc.

562 "Among the Badagas," Mr. Natesa Sastri writes, "the position of the women is somewhat different from
(462) what it is among most peoples. Every Badaga has a few acres to cultivate, but he does not mainly occupy himself with them, for his wife does all the out-door farm work, while he is engaged otherwise in earning something in hard cash. To a Badaga, therefore, his
(465) wife is his capital. Her labour in the field is considered to be worth one rupee per day, while an average male
(464) Badaga earns merely three annas. A Badaga woman, who has not her own acres to cultivate, finds work on
(262) some other lands. She thus works hard for her husband and family, and is quite content with the coarsest food—the korali (*Setaria italica*) flour—leaving the

562 better food to the male members of the family. This
[262] fact, and the hard work the Badaga women have to perform, may perhaps account to some extent for the slight build of the Badagas as a race. The male
462 Badaga, too, works in the field, or at his own craft if he
562 is not a cultivator, but his love for ready cash is always so great that, even if he had a harvest to gather the next morning, he would run away as a cooly for two annas wages." Further, Mr. Grigg states that "as the men constantly leave their villages to work on coffee plantations, much of the labour in their own fields, as
[461] well as ordinary household work, is performed by the
[583] women. They are so industrious, and their services of such value to their husbands, that a Badaga sometimes
462 pays 150 or 200 rupees as dowry for his wife." In the off season for cultivation, I am informed, the Badaga woman collects faggots for home consumption, and stores them near her house, and the women prepare the fields for cultivation by weeding, breaking the earth, and collecting manure.

651 In his report on the revenue settlement of the
656 Nilgiris (1885), Mr. (now Sir) R. S. Benson notes that "concurrently with the so-called abolition of the bhurty (or shifting) system of cultivation, Mr. Grant abolished the peculiar system in vogue up to that time in Kundahnad, which had been transferred from Malabar to the Nilgiris in 1860. This system was known as erkādu kothukādu. Under it, a tax of Re. 1 to Re. 1–8–0 was levied for the right to use a plough or er, and a tax of from 4 to 8 annas was levied for the right to use a hoe or kothu. The so-called patta issued to the ryot under this system was really no more than a license to use one or more hoes, as the case might be. It merely specified the amount payable for each instrument, but in no cases

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

the great majority still are today. For them the family has always been the basic unit of production. As much as five months of the year are spent non-productively (Ranga, 1934, 9–10), but during the other months every member of the family, even a child, makes some contribution to the traditional family economy. Adults work in the fields and are helped by boys and girls when necessary (Harkness, 1832, 114–115). Men do the heavier work, such as forking, ploughing or clearing stones, and women the lighter work, mainly planting, weeding and harvesting (Ward, 1321, lxx, lxxiii; Jagor, 1876, 201–202: Ranga, 1934, 8; Noble, 1968, 143–148). As well as their field-work women are responsible for cooking and for all the housekeeping, including the laundry.[25] Adolescent boys work as cowherds; girls take care of babies whose mothers are in the fields (Harkness, 1832, 113). Children also do the initial preparation of meals before the women return home each day. People too old to work in the fields stay at home minding the children and keeping an eye on what passes within the village (Jagor, 1876, 194).

This pattern has been modified somewhat by a trend among the more educated men to work away from the village. At first a few were employed in the towns as peons, clerks, builders and labourers, and throughout the district as primary school teachers.[26] During the First World War some young men began working in the munitions factory near Wellington (it still employs many Badagas). Then, in the 1920s, the first Badagas attended university and returned to professional positions in the Nilgiris. Of these professionals the most influential small group have been the parliamentarians—M.P.s and M.L.A.s—many of whom are from one extended family whose fortune was initially established by labour contraction (see Diagram 9, p. 179). More numerous today are the doctors and lawyers. Other Badagas who though less well-educated no longer follow their traditional occupation include school-teachers, government officials, bus drivers, contractors and factory workers.

A correlate of this move towards the towns has been the breakdown of customary labouring methods. There were two kinds of cooperative labour: in one a number of families (usually from one lineage) would pool their labour to farm an area and then would divide up the produce proportionately; in the other, several families would work for a particular farmer but have no share in his produce: he in turn would help them with their cultivation. For

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

was mostly in steep rocky places ill-suited to any cultivation.)

14. Grigg, 1880, 321, mentions there were 29,912 acres (12,105 ha.) of farming land on the plateau in 1862–1863 but considers this 'a fictitious number'. Fifteen years earlier Ouchterlony had estimated that the Badagas alone used 12,750 ha.; Grigg, 1880, 13.

15. It is 19 km. by road from Ootacamund and embraces the Badaga commune of So:lu:ru.

16. That Sholur was not atypical in this respect is suggested by the fact that in 1867 the average number of persons per Badaga household for the entire district was 4.36; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 61.

17. Land utilization figures for the entire district, 1905–1960, in Nambiar (1965), do not isolate the role of Badaga agriculture.

18. Ranga, 1934, 68. As early as 1908 Francis (p. 167) noted: 'Potatoes are much exported to Ceylon, the Straits [Malaya] and Burma . . .' It was in 1908 that the railway connecting Ootacamund with the plains was completed.

19. Ranga, 1934, 14–15, 18–22. 'In fact many planters advance money to Badagas to enable them to dig pits and plant tea . . . with the intention of being able to purchase that land'; Ranga, 1934, 15.

20. Merchants also granted credit for purchase of daily needs—at much inflated prices; Ranga, 1934, 73–74; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 249. Such traders are an excellent example of Simmel's 'resident stranger', whose presence catalyses a peasant economy by affording credit; Simmel, 1923, 509–512.

21. De:vaso:le, Kolekombe, Se:las, Gudalu:ru, Manju:ru, Ki:kotagiri, Neḍugala, and Naduvatta; Baikie, 1857, 38, 88; Grigg, 1880, 471.

22. Nambiar, 1965, 23. The first time this problem beset Badaga farmers was in 1880; B.E.M.S., 1880, no. 41, 37; Grigg, 1880; 134.

23. Ranga, 1934, 7–9. Badaga contractors had been involved in such work since the mid-nineteenth century; McPherson, 1870, 21.

24. Natesa Sastri, 1892, 753; Francis, 1908, 129; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 63; Ranga, 1934, 8; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 248. These jobs included builders, blacksmiths, brickmakers, carpenters, clerks, domestic servants, painters, gardeners, washermen, teachers, printers, forest guards, tailors, barbers, water-carriers, stone-breakers, rickshaw-pullers, and even coolies and scavengers.

25. Jagor, 1876, 201–202; unlike most Hindus the Badagas do not employ washermen.

26. These were mainly Christians.

27. The categories are taken from the 1961 *Census of India*.

28. The designation is not recent; Francis, 1908, 265. On the Backward Classes generally, see Béteille, 1969, 87–145. Very recently the Nilgiri Hill Tribe Badaga Welfare Association was formed to promote government action in classifying Badagas as Scheduled Tribe, which would have material advantages for the community.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

As an increasingly heavy work-load was placed on the therapists more women entered the craft; and more reliance was placed on Western medicine too. Today the scientific medicine of the public health department, and of government and mission hospitals, is making serious assaults on the faith that Badagas formerly had in their own herbal therapy, and is helping the population to expand at what must be considered an alarming rate (Diagram 1). The traditional therapy was adaptive, indeed crucial, for ancient Badagas trying to gain a foothold in a strange environ-

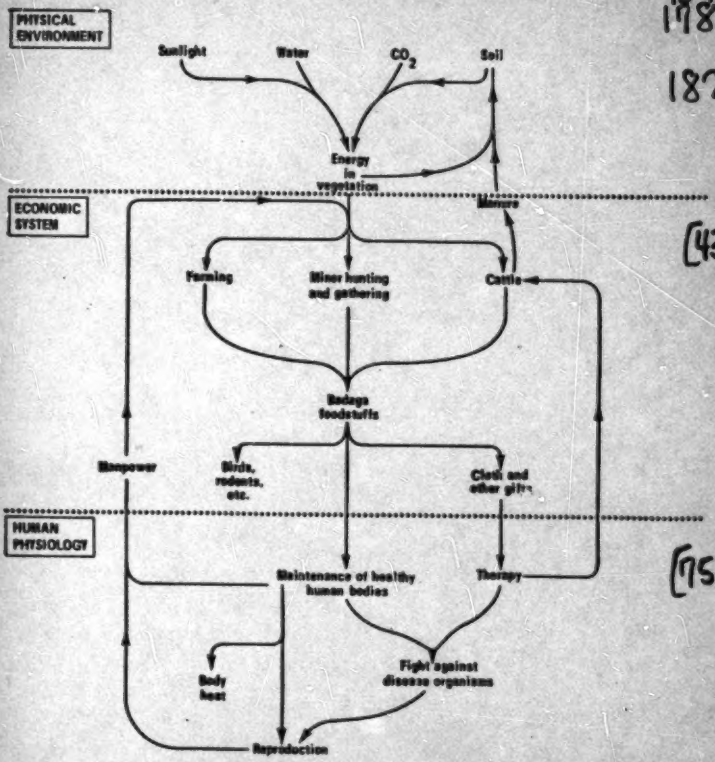

Diagram 2 : A simple model for energy flow in the Badaga ecological system

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

759 462 582 591

Secondly, these treatments have descended through many generations of therapists in the different villages. What are the implications of this? Badaga villages are exogamous, and marriage is virilocal. When a woman becomes a therapist, who then is she likely to learn from? As we shall see with Sithamma, who was not atypical in this respect, she learns from her husband's mother, or from some other older woman who is married into his village. This must make for some confusion occasionally. Perhaps a small girl learns the identities of many plants around her natal village, and may even acquire some basic cures from her mother or other women living in that village; but she only begins formal training as a therapist *after* marriage, which means that she is then living elsewhere, being indoctrinated into a possibly different set of practices and identi-

759 178

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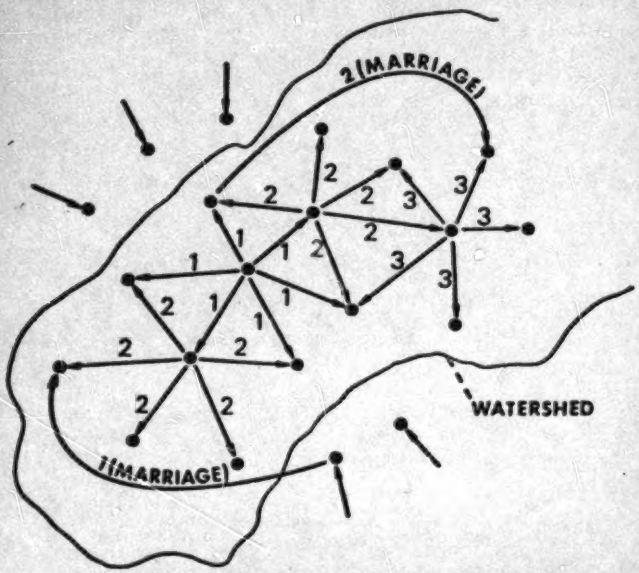

Diagram 3 : Schematic illustration of the spread of medical knowledge through some neighbouring Badaga villages during three professional lifetimes of therapists (ca. one century)

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

fications than those she had picked up as a girl. Yet the older therapist sees to it that a trainee cures according to the traditions of her husband's hamlet. The rule of virilocal residence means that each village which has a therapist tends to retain some idiosyncratic patterns of curing, and to transmit them more or less unchanged through succeeding generations in that village alone. We must remember that some three-quarters of all the therapists are female.

But what of the male therapists? They are patrilocal in residence and hence just accentuate the effect I have already described: they too transmit a curing pattern that has long been idiosyncratic in their own village (cf. 10.12). And since therapists are secretive about their knowledge anyway, and would not compare cures between one village and another as a rule, there is no basis for a common medical tradition in Badaga culture. Even the male specialists who attract clients from all over the Nilgiris tend to rely on secret spells and secret herbal remedies, so that their knowledge also remains solely in their own hamlets and occasionally may provide some subsidiary income for generations of a particular family. In fact, it should be clear now that what I have recorded in this study is largely the medical system of Orana:yi village, where the informants The singh and his mother Sithamma lived, and of the immediately contiguous hamlets where she practised. It is true that a therapist or a midwife does visit such neighbouring hamlets, but this does not negate my hypothesis. It simply means that instead of there being theoretically 370 medical systems (i.e., the number of Badaga villages) there are probably between 50 and 100 (i.e., the number of practising therapists); and each is very locally restricted.

A model for the diffusion of Badaga medical knowledge over several generations is sketched in Diagram 3. Topography conditions this pattern very much, for the Nilgiri Massif is fragmented into many small valleys, and these *tend* to be exogamous because they were mostly colonized in the first place by members of one particular clan. Idiosyncratic therapeutic information thus tends to remain within a valley over the generations, where of course it will be based on and adapted to the flora that are locally available (cf. 1.4). To the extent that this information is in the hands of womenfolk it becomes a service that they provide mostly for their affines, and along with ceremonial reciprocity, money-lending, and the all-important arrangement of marriages, is a factor in the linkage of diverse lineages and clans.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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healing *powers*; all other specialists are only deemed to have therapeutic *skills*. There is an essential difference between a spell and a medicament.

Becoming a Therapist

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10.3. About three-quarters of the Badaga therapists are women. While I do not know their exact number, it seems that several of them are to be found in every clan and phratry of the community. This means that most of the 370 villages do *not* have their own therapist but can find one in a nearby hamlet. K. Sithamma, for example, was the most prominent therapist in the four or five villages contiguous to her own, and where she normally practised her craft—including one village of the Kota tribe. A hundred therapists and another two hundred experienced midwives would be my rough estimate of their numbers at present; but not all of them are still practising today.

759

A sample of 420 Badaga adults was questioned in 1963 on whether anyone came to them for any medical advice and/or treatment. About 40 per cent of both the males and females stated that they did offer such advice, as is shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Dissemination of Medical Advice

	MALES	FEMALES
Who comes for medical advice ?—		
friends and relatives in general	21.9%	21.8%
anyone in need	8.6%	3.4%
only younger people	3.3%	10.9%
older, uneducated people	1.7%	0
immediate family members only	3.7%	5.0%
no one	59.8%	58.8%
not ascertainable	1.0%	0
	(*N*=301)	(*N*=119)

This table suggests that there are as many male as female therapists: this I rather doubt. Instead it seems likely that, numerically,

task, and does not put it on again till she has bathed herself at the end of the pollution period.

Today each cluster of villages (i.e. Panchayat Board) has one trained nurse and two or three midwives appointed by the State Government. The later are just experienced Badaga midwives with no formal training who happen to have been recommended for the position.

Exorcists and Shamans

10.7. Badaga exorcists are always male, and are very few in number. As often as not Badagas' ghosts have to be exorcized by non-Badaga exorcists. These men may also have lesser therapeutic skills, such as making talismans to ward off fevers and evil influences from the children who wear them. The idiosyncratic nature of exorcism is sufficiently indicated by the examples in Chapter 8 and calls for no further elaboration here.

The most feared *mantrava:dis* (shamans) in the Nilgiris were members of the Kurumba tribe, one of whom might be "called in on all occasions of blight and murrain to propitiate or scare the demon of disease"—if such there be (Breeks 1873: 53). Though this may still occasionally happen, I find no record of Kurumbas acting as exorcists to the Badagas, even though they did offer much supernatural protection to them from the sorcery of other malicious Kurumbas ; and they do sometimes try to cure the sick. Thus, "In 1891, the inmates of a single Kurumba but were said to have been murdered, and the hut burnt to ashes, because one of the family had been treating a sick Badaga child, and failed to cure it.... Again, in 1900, a whole family of Kurumbas were murdered, of which the head, who had a reputation as a medicine man, was believed to have brought disease and death into a Badaga village." (Thurston 1912: 233-34 ; also 1909 : 86). The Badagas were never so brutal with their own therapists, but the latter never seemed to be holding the threat of sorcery over the heads of their fellows. The worst that an unpopular therapist might have to suffer would be the mockery of an appropriate proverb; for instance, "He has healed others, but cannot cure himself" (Metz 1864 :95), or "It is half bad if you do something [wrong] when you know about it; entirely bad if you do it when you are ignorant."

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Other Specialists

759 10.8. Midwives and exorcists are specialists, of course, but they
791 differ in status. The midwife deals in the pollution of blood, and
462 is always a female; the exorcist deals in the danger that spirits
554 bring, and is invariably a male. It is thus in accordance with Hindu
—and Badaga—thinking that the exorcist ranks higher and the mid-
wife lower in esteem than the more general therapist, whether male
or female: one handles supernatural power, the other female
pollution.

759 Aside from these categories, however, there are other specialists
who are known for their ability to handle particular types of
malady. In the foregoing chapters we have encountered three in-
stances of such people. One was a woman, the grandmother of my
759 informant M. N. Thesingh. At the time of her death in 1941 she
757 had treated "nearly a thousand cases" of infertility in women, and
842 found only half-a-dozen of these to be really barren women. For the
rest, she prepared a medicine out of three or four different plants.
What they were was a secret she took with her to the grave, for
she thought that if she taught the medicine to anyone else it would
not work well for either of them. She even told her grandson,
"You must discover the technique for yourself." He took this to
mean that he should spy on her, and once did so. She used to get
up at about five in the morning, wash, and then go out to the fields
or the forest. On reaching the spot where the necessary plants grew,
she looked around till she saw what she wanted; then, with the plant
in front of her, she stood facing the east, her palms touching each
other as she prayed. Then she sat cross-legged on the ground at
that spot and removed a silver ring from the middle finger of the
right hand. This she placed on the plant that was in front of her,
prayed again, then replaced the ring and picked the plant. She ex-
plained later that the ring was an offering to God ; but her grand-
son failed to discover the identity of the plants.

759 One case that is remembered by him illustrates the assurance
with which this woman treated her patients. A 19-year old girl was
881 was brought from a very distant village, her problem being that
554 she had never menstruated (or had she, but was afraid to admit it
for fear of being married?). She arrived on Wednesday, but the
779 therapist (like her daughter-in-law Sithamma) refused to begin new
treatment unless on a Tuesday, Friday or Sunday, which are auspi-
cious days; so the girl had to wait.

121 We shall now consider the lower end of the "social ladder", the poorest Badaga families, so as to see how their lack of either affluence or influence affects their position in Nilgiri society.

There is very widespread agreement across India and Pakistan that certain occupations, and the jatis centered on them, are of low respectability. Among the commonest of such occupations are washerman, scavenger, barber, blacksmith, leather-worker, and basket-maker. In the Badaga economy, however, none of these (615) occurs as a regular kind of employment. The lowest phratry are the Toreyas, and their inferiority relative to the other phratries is explained by the fact that they act as messengers and "village servants" to the others. The duties of blacksmith, leather-worker and basket-maker, as we have already seen, are roles for members of some other tribes with which the Badagas interact; and thus these needs of the Badagas can adequately be met by local non-Badagas. How do Badagas handle the supposedly demeaning tasks of the washerman, the scavenger and the barber?

462 Women wash the family clothes, and it is not a shame for even a boy to wash clothes -- although adult men will not do it (Macpherson 1820: lix; Ranga 1934: 71). It is only the poorest of Badaga families who might supplement their 463 554 income -- and particularly if they own no land at all -- by washing the clothes of others, however. Even in their case, this does not become a full-time occupation. In the same way only the poorest of Badaga men would act as barbers to richer men. For both these services payment used to be made in grain. One would never see two men shaving each other on a reciprocal basis, except among the very poorest who had made this a subsidiary occupation (Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249). The most demeaning of all services that a poor man might find himself obliged to (515) perform is that of shaving the pubic hair from richer men. It is common to remove

463 554 [515] all pubic hair (though Badaga women do it for themselves) because it is thought unaesthetic and is found to harbor lice and ticks. The disgrace attached to this occupation is well displayed in one of the great expressions of Badaga disdain: "What can you do? -- You can't even shave my cock!" Badagas who are forced to take up barbering because of poverty never make a full-time occupation of it, especially as professional barbers are now generally available from other communities. So far as scavenging is concerned, there is no need at all to remove night soil from the houses, because Badagas always defecate either in the fields and bushes, or in a special manure pit. The feces of small children are not considered polluting and are easily removed from the house by anyone. All other cleaning and sweeping around the house is done by the womenfolk living there.

514 (783)

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Those Badagas who are neither gentry nor in the poverty-stricken category show some signs of having achieved upward mobility over the past century or so. There was traditionally a class of gentry, as we know, that was distinguished by higher prestige and higher behavioral expectations. On the other hand there was in all likelihood no class of poverty-stricken Badagas obliged to become barbers or launderers until land pressure and the settlement of boundaries in the 1880's had made it difficult for the disinherited and landless to find new farming land. Only in the 80 or 90 years since that period has this landless class emerged at the bottom of the status hierarchy. And as it emerged, the prestige of the gentry was continuously on the wane. Both changes were related, as we shall see, to increasing Badaga involvement in the Indian cash economy. The middle class of peasant families seems slowly to have decreased the gap in conduct and prestige that separated them from the gentry families; until now the cash income of a family is the clearest mark of its influence in the community. The aristocratic values of

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(556)

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AN50 - Badaga AN50

Employment

463 Prior to 1913 all Badagas were primarily agriculturists; for the great ma-
592 jority of the people this is still true today. Although as much as five months of the farming year is spent non-productively (Ranga 1934: 9-10), every member of the family, even the child, makes some contribution to the traditional family economy.
241 Adults work in the fields, and are helped by boys and girls when necessary (Hark-
462 ness 1832: 114-15). Men do the heavier work, such as forking or plowing, and women do the lighter work, mainly planting, weeding and harvesting (Ward 1821:
241 lxx, lxxiii; Ranga 1934: 8). Adolescents work as cowherds, and girls also take
883 care of small babies while the mothers are out in the fields (Harkness 1832: 113).
857 Children also do the preliminary work of cooking before the women return home
462 each day. As well as field-work, women do the main part of the cooking and are responsible for all of the house-keeping, including the laundry (Jagor 1876: 201-02).
887 People too old to work in the fields stay at home minding the children and keeping an eye on what passes within the village during the day-time (Jagor 1876: 194).

178 This pattern has been modified somewhat by the trend among the more
463 educated Badagas to work away from the village. At first a few Badagas were being employed in the towns as peons, clerks, builders and laborers, and throughout the District as teachers (Thurston 1909: I, 63; Ranga 1934: 8; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 248). During the First World War some young men worked in a muni-
(5811) tions factory at Wellington. Then, in the 1920's, the first Badagas attended col-
(5510) leges and returned to professional positions in the Nilgiris. Of these professionals the most influential small group have been the parliamentarians, M.P.'s and M.L.A.'s, nearly all of them coming from one family. More numerous are the doctors and lawyers. Other less well-educated Badagas who no longer follow their tradi-

244 ridges constructed in the same plots are planted with broad beans (Vicia faba L.) or peas. Kitchen gardens are typically better manured and cared for. Because they are nearer to community cattle-pens and (514) livestock huts, more manure is likely to be placed on them. Due to the absence of toilets in houses, community dwellers naturally defecate [364] more frequently on nearby plots. And lastly, women recurrently spread kitchen ashes or trash over kitchen gardens. When family members have 241 time to spare, they may easily care for kitchen garden plots near the 592 communities in which they live. Women work on them between their • 462 household duties, and men who are regularly employed work on them during off duty hours.

175 Shifting agriculture. In 1800 the Badagas were practicing shift-
241 ing slash-burn (kottukadu) agriculture (Buchanan 1870, 1: 462). As
361 later writers described Badaga hamlets and villages in terms of permanence, it is conjectured that Badagas then dwelt in permanent communities and cultivated different plots on the nearby countryside from year to year. From the time Englishmen started to administer the Nilgiris
241 until the late 1800s, the bhurty revenue system existed over the upper
651 Nilgiris. Under this system a farmer could hold up to ten times the taxed land he actually cultivated in any single year. Therefore, a man who paid taxes on five acres could hold nine other five-acre plots scattered over the upper Nilgiris. Plot alternation accompanied by the necessary clearance of vegetation off fallowed land not cultivated for years, or off newly claimed forest land, formed a system of shifting agriculture. Another system was followed in the western Kundahs, which

243 placed in small heaps, and burned when dry. Plows used in soil preparation were of a general type presently used in southern India. Some [407] doubtlessly had a metal strip attached to the share, but Ouchterlony [175] (1848: 31) stated that the share was "almost invariably a piece of pointed wood, of a tough description, hardened in the fire, and not shod with iron, or any other metal." Plowing was performed by two [492] methods. In the first, a lead team of yoked cattle drawing a plow was followed by five or six similar teams drawing plows. After plows scraped a single furrow, paralleled furrows were formed by forcing the [492] cattle to pull plows in lines paralleling the first. When the other method was used, a single team of yoked cattle pulled a plow over a field as many as five times. During each replowing, furrows were [462] crossed. After the men had finished the plowing, women and children [857] with small hoes worked over the soil, broke up clods, removed weeds, and piled them in small heaps. After the weeds were burned, the ashes were scattered over the ground. Cattle manure from cattle pens was mixed with community trash, loaded into baskets, and carried to fields. After being broadcast, the fertilizer was worked into the soil through another plowing or with hoes. Men broadcast seeds, or planted seeds, plants, and seed potatoes (later 1800s) in rows. Sown seeds were covered by a last plowing or light hoeing. Women and children usually weeded the fields two or more times. To speed this process up, rows [592] of weeders sometimes worked cooperatively. Harvesting was performed [412] by all family members, and sickles were the main harvesting implements. Bundles of straw with grain or baskets loaded with grain heads were carried as head loads to threshing floors. Temporary threshing floors

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

243 were constructed in the fields, but there were also well cowdunged permanent threshing floors within communities. To thresh out grain, cattle were muzzled, lined up, tied together and to a central post, and then driven around in circles over straw and grain. Women, however, used threshing sticks to thresh out grain on courtyards fronting houses. Sun-dried grain was stored away in large conical baskets plastered inside and out with cowdung, but finger millet was often kept in pits.

241 407 In 1908 plows were still being used, but by 1930 they were no longer in general use (Francis 1908: 166; Carl 1930: 32). The abandonment of plows resulted from the need for deeper soil turnover and ridging in potato cultivation. This was touched upon by Robertson (1875: 26), who stated that "as the native plough cannot ridge the land, the preparation of the soil, except the mere stirring and loosening, is all done by manual labor, and the cost of putting in the crop is much higher than it need be were a mouldboard plough used; . . . ." Three Swedish moldboard plows were sent to the Nilgiris in 1882-83, and a Badaga purchased one after a plowing exhibit at Ketti (Madras Department of Revenue Settlement and Agriculture 1884: 19; M.D. of R.S. and A. 1886: 6). However, Badagas never adopted moldboard plows. If they had done so, it is likely that plows would still be used. In 1908 potato plots were prepared through use of digging forks, introduced by the English, and hoes (Francis 1908: 167-168). During World War I, when potato production was greatly increased, the borrowed English digging fork rapidly replaced the plow. There is a distinct possibility that varied hoe-forks now used by Badagas were locally developed in that

(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

244 period (Figure 15).

412 In present dry field crop production land occasionally remains unterraced, but is more often shallowly terraced. Many farmers are

241 now, by requirement of the Madras Government, hewing out slopes to

(666) form horizontal croplands on tiered terraces (Plate X, C). Dry fields frequently remain unenclosed. When land left in fallow for some time is again to be cultivated, vegetation will first be removed and burned in small piles.

244 In preparing ground for potatoes, men turn the soil with digging forks. After about two or three weeks, clods are broken by women and

(462) children. Both blunt and forked sides of hoe-forks are used in this

(857) task. Undesirable stones and weeds are removed at the same time. Stones are utilized in terrace or wall construction, and ashes from weeds burned in piles are scattered over the land. Manure and compost brought in by women, bullock carts, or trucks are scattered over the

(435) soil. Badagas sometimes purchased buffalo-dung from the Todas. After fertilizer has been worked into the soil with hoes or hoe-forks, parallaled potato ridges are constructed with similar implements. As this is a hard task, men often assist. Men, women, and children do the planting. A small amount of chemical fertilizer is included with each seed potato. At least two weedings are carried out through use

(462) of smaller hoes, hoe-forks, and small weeding-hoes. Women and children

(857) usually perform this task, and at the same time they mound the ridges. The first mounding aids in keeping spreading roots covered, and the

(592) second helps protect the plant bases from strong monsoon winds. Most

(251) family members work during the busy harvest season. After tubers dug

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

244 up with hoes and hoe-forks have been dried in the sun, they are removed
251 in baskets to houses, storage huts, or awaiting trucks.

When grain is to be sown, soil is turned over by women using
243 large- and medium-sized hoe-forks. Fields to be planted with grain
462 are infrequently manured, and chemical fertilizers are seldom applied. If manure or fertilizer is used, it will be spread over the field and worked in. Grain broadcast over fields by men is then worked into the soil with hoes or hoe-forks. In the eastern Nilgiris, amaranth, mustard, finger millet, and Italian millet are still sown together. Amaranth, mustard, Italian millet, and little millet are also mixed. Barley, buckwheat, and wheat are usually sown separately. Women and
[412] children seldom weed grain fields more than once. Sickles are standard harvesting implements, and women usually remove the grain heads.

Varied processing of grain heads depends upon the grain har-
243 vested. Little millet is cut near the base of the stalk. Grains are then trodden out by cattle moving about a central post, as in former times (Plate X,D). Threshing-floors may be temporarily located in
243 fields, or permanently near communities and on community courtyards.
251 Threshed little millet dried out on courtyards for several days is winnowed and packed away in sacks or wooden chests. Finger millet grain heads cut off plants are tightly packed into sacks. After sack openings have been closed with bound string, the finger millet is stored away in warm parts of houses for four or five days. During this time the grain turns dark brown, but should not be permitted to blacken. When the correct color is reached, grain heads are removed to threshing floors. The treaded heads are saved and dried, so that remaining grains

6: Nodie K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
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Kasuva

243 may be removed through hand threshing by women with threshing-sticks.
251 Finger millet is dried in the sun until individual grains crack when crushed between one's teeth. It is stored away after winnowing and may be kept for years without spoiling. Underground storage pits for finger millet are no longer in general use. After barley and wheat heads are removed, they are dried in the sun. Women, working on courtyards, use threshing-sticks to thresh the grain. Following further sun-drying and winnowing, grain is ready for storage.

231 Livestock. From the early 1800s Badagas have reared chickens,
(175) buffaloes, cattle, goats, and sheep (Keys 1812: 11; Birch 1838: 103-105). They never keep pigs, and chickens are not commonly reared.
262 Because of close ties between bulls and Lord Shiva, the Saivite Badagas are not beef eaters. Mutton is eaten more than any other meat, so
234 goats and sheep are kept as a meat supply. Milk processing into curds,
•462 butter, buttermilk, and clarified butter had been carried out by men in the sacred hagotus within houses. Only one to a few families in
231 each community now own livestock, and sometimes a single male within a family will take care of the livestock. There are a few families which
231 depend almost entirely on sale of mutton, milk, and milk products for
434 a livelihood. Most, however, use livestock as a supplementary income source, or to obtain meat and milk for home consumption.

231 Religious ties between Badagas and their buffaloes or cattle,
771 as demonstrated at Bargani, are also present in communities. Monday,
796 Lord Shiva's day and a holiday, is a day sacred to the herd. In former times oxen were not worked and cows were not milked on this

6: Noble K-4,S (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

243 In field preparation, natural vegetation which has spread into fallow fields is cleared, dried, and burned. Ashes are then spread over the earth. If available, livestock dung is applied. Soil is loosened by periodic plowings with a plow drawn by a single team or by several teams drawing plows simultaneously. Earth clods are broken with hoes and hoe-forks, and the same implements are used to work broadcast seed (221) into the soil. Sowing takes place mainly in June and July, so that harvesting will occur during a period of declining rainfall in October, November, and December. Finger millet is commonly grown, and little (241) millet is occasionally cultivated. Mustard may be mixed with the grain crop, and in one field I saw there were pumpkin vines growing over termite hills. Some fields are quite neglected, and others are weeded to varying degrees. In harvesting, sickles are used to remove grain heads. When finger millet is harvested, the grain heads are first processed in the same way that upper Nilgiri Badagas process them. (251) Grain is stored after being trampled out by buffaloes or cattle and dried in the sun. Men are responsible for heavy work in field preparation, plowing, sowing, and care of livestock trampling out grain. 243 •462 Women, aided sometimes by children, do most of the other work associated with dry field cultivations.

Wet rice cultivation. During the dry season, after livestock 243 have eaten remaining rice stubble, exposed soils on fields become (231) hardened and cracked in the sun's heat. Livestock penned on changed (221) locations help fertilize the earth. Starting in April, after some mango showers have loosened field surfaces, the men prepare a few

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva AW63

243 (220) (492) fields. A single plow, usually pulled by two buffaloes, may be drawn back and forth over a field. At irregular intervals of days or even weeks the field will be replowed until it has been plowed four to six times, with former plow lines being crossed at each replowing. If several buffalo teams are available, plowing may be speeded by teams working simultaneously in a single file. (312) Dikes to retain rainwater must also be rebuilt or repaired with the aid of hoes (Figure 15), and at least the final plowing is performed in fields well soaked by (401) rainwater backed up behind the dikes. Drawn harrows aid in the leveling and mixing of soil. Puddlers are lastly used to flatten and smooth surfaces about to receive rice seeds. Prior to broadcasting, the seeds are usually mixed in a cowdung wash and left sitting for several days in a small heap covered with leaves. Broadcast seeds stick in mud and there take root. Plants may remain untouched until harvesting, but most seeds take root in selected nursery fields from which plants are later pulled up and transplanted.

(221) Because seeds are planted on nursery fields from April into June, the transplanting period extends from June into August. It is during this period that most fields are plowed, harrowed, and puddled (Plate XII, E). In addition to supplemental dung fertilizer deposited on the fields, green leaves are trampled into the mud by the feet of (462) humans and livestock. Field preparation is man's work, but only women transplant young rice plants. The young plants, pulled up after approximately 40 days, are tied into bundles. By twisting off plant tops, each bundle top is flattened. Bundles carried to prepared fields are broken up individually as a field is planted. Two or three plants

B 243 B [462] (857) are planted together each time, and small clumps are spaced about nine inches to one foot apart. The amount of weeding performed by women and children before or after rice is transplanted depends upon the individuals concerned, but some weeding is usually done. As rice ripens, watch-huts built on stilts amidst fields or on hill slopes nearby are occupied in shifts by men, women, or children who make noises to drive away animals and birds. B [221] Harvesting takes place mainly in January, but rice is also harvested in December and February. Grain removal is facilitated by the fields drying up before harvesters, mainly women, B [482] start working with sickles. Cut rice stalks are carried in headloads by men and women to threshing floors near the houses. Muzzled bulls are strung together and forced to walk abreast around posts rising from threshing floors. Grain on hay laid beneath the bulls' feet is thus slowly threshed out. Months later, other grain is threshed in like manner from straw piled on stilted platforms or straw heaped about B [251] poles rising near threshing floors. Sun-dried grain is stored within [231] large grain baskets or wooden chests placed in homes. The remaining threshed straw is fed to livestock or used for thatching.

B 463 434 439 Additional income. As far back as 1881 the Badagas were working on neighboring plantations, and a fair number of males are presently employed on plantations (Jennings 1881: 60). A few Badagas obtain income by selling milk to coffee and tea shops in nearby villages.

2. The Kotas

Ko 342 Most Kotas at Kalac, Cudalur, live in eight houses with brick

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AW50 Badaga AW50

121 the kinship system in the Badaga case as having developed as a means of
(241) assigning and transferring ownership of and rights in property, especially cattle and houses, but to a lesser extent land too. We must remember that in the early days Badagas practised swidden agriculture (although strangely that is not mentioned in the early ballads), and the Nilgiri population density was so low that land really had no market value there and was very easy to come by.

233 Now, keeping a herd of buffaloes requires adequate grazing and certain other conditions. One is the presence of a number of active men, typically brothers, who will keep the herd together while grazing and fend off tigers (539) when possible. Women could not do this work: the epic poem *Ba:la Sevana*
(462) ridicules the mother of the hero for trying to drive the family's herd out to graze with a stick in her hand. Both swidden and ordinary plough agriculture 241 also called for the combined efforts of several men (as well as a number of 476 women), and so here too Badagas found a good reason for cultivating their 596 fields as a joint family. Many still do so today. The point to be noted is that both the buffalo-herding and ox-ploughing and swidden cultivation were economic conditions that favoured patrilocality, the joint family, and 182 brother/sister exchange at marriage—this latter a preference which maintained a balance of manpower between two intermarrying families or settlements. If a youth married his FZD and her brother in turn married *his* 581 MBD, brother/sister exchange would result, the ideal of cross-cousin mar-582 riage would be honoured, the two families involved would have asserted their 583 equality, and close relations would ensue between them. Where brother/ 586 sister exchange has occurred, divorce becomes rather more difficult because it places great strains on the other couple, those who are not getting divorced.

591 The girls in this system invariably go off to another village in marriage
881 at or shortly after menarche, where they will be needed to *(a)* do house-work and look after small children; *(b)* do some sowing, weeding and reaping in 462 the fields; and *(c)* raise a new generation of farmers and buffalo herdsmen. In this married situation the birth of a son means that a woman has largely 602 fulfilled all three of her obligations to the family she has joined—for on (885) marriage a Badaga girl relinquishes membership in her natal family, lineage, (562) and village, and joins those of her husband. Her membership in them is made especially manifest when her husband dies and a son continues to support (851) her in her husband's village; and when she too dies it is her husband's village and its headman who are responsible for conducting her funeral, with the collaboration of her husband's family.

562 The economic decision-making rests with the adult men: when to sow, what to plant in each kind of soil, when and where to move the cattle in search of new grazing, when to harvest, and, in former times, when to move 182 the swidden. These decisions call for accurate topographical knowledge, and 562 it is thus both appropriate and necessary that the detailed local knowledge 591 which boys acquire in work and play should be put to good use when they

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

142 field has been their profession for many generations. Mr. Grigg
[147] says "This may account for their extreme thinness; one meets with very few who can be called stout."

562 Among the Badagas the position of the women is somewhat
462 different from what it is among most peoples. Every Badaga has a few acres to cultivate but he does not mainly occupy himself with them, for his wife does all the outdoor farm work, while he is engaged
562 otherwise in earning something in hard cash. To a Badaga
465 therefore his wife is his capital. Her labour in the field is considered to be worth one rupee per day, while an average male Badaga earns merely three annas, or only a fifth part of what his wife really earns as her wages, or is calculated to earn. A Badaga woman who has not her own acres to cultivate finds work
562 on some other lands. She thus works hard for her husband and
461 her family and is quite content with the coarsest food—the *Korali (Panicum Italicum)* flour—leaving the better food to the male
142 members of the family. This fact, and the hard work the Badaga women have to perform, may perhaps account to some extent for the slight build of the Badagas as a race. The male Badaga too
461 works in the field, or at his own craft if he is not a cultivator, but
462 his love for ready cash is always so great that even if he had a
562 harvest to gather the next morning, he would run away as a cooly for two annas wages.

181 Having very few wants beyond a few cloths for their dress and a few copper or brass utensils, and accustomed always to frugal habits in their diet and other things, the Badagas are now the most thriving race of all the inhabitants of the Nilagiri District.
142 Their poor dress in a cold climate, their enormous industry,
461 and their continued exposure account for their thinness. It is interesting to notice that as a rule one never sees a stout Badaga or a lean Tôda. The majority of the latter are sunk in idleness. Nothing would be more welcome to a Tôda than to sit facing the sun from morning to evening, with a thick dirty cloth thrown over him, while the Badagas on the other hand are extremely industrious.

342 Though thus poor in his dress and household utensils a Badaga always takes care to have a comfortable and convenient house. It is always a snug house with neat rooms, and all the houses are built on such a uniform pattern that no difference of any kind can be noticed between any two houses: they coincide as exactly as the nests built by the same kind of birds. The first portion, at the entrance, is a small hall called *Edirmané*,—front house. The